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THE GERMAN FOOD ESTATE -
the Reichsnährstand

Description

This paper deals with the Reichsnährstand, the institution whereby the Nazis endeavored to control the production and distribution of agricultural products. The Food Estate's administrative structure is described, its functions are analyzed, and its methods of enforcement are briefly evaluated.

Washington
25 September 1945

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Summary

1. The Food Estate (Reichsnährstand) was created by the Nazis in order to organize the production and marketing of foodstuffs in a highly integrated manner.

2. It was one of the most highly Nazified of all German institutions. From the Peasant Leader at the top to the local Peasant Leaders at the bottom, Nazi Party members were in the majority.

3. Under the Weimar Republic there had been a large number of territorial, occupational, political, and employer-employee organizations concerned with agriculture. But agricultural production as such had been relatively free of state control. For certain commodities, however, the Republican government established governmental purchasing agencies and prescribed the use of domestic surpluses in industry. In this respect pre-Nazi controls resembled those later used by the Hitler government.

4. The internal structure of the Food Estate underwent several changes but the essential purposes remained unchanged. All producers, processors, and distributors of agricultural products were organized functionally into Marketing Associations and Economic Associations. In addition, all persons and organizations connected in any way with the production and procurement of food were organized into Peasant Associations, which were developed on the provincial, district, and local levels.

5. The elaborate administrative structure comprising the Food Estate was based, essentially, upon the office and person of the local Peasant Leader, who was in direct contact with the farmers. As the individual most closely associated with the producer, the local Peasant Leader filled a role endowed with great actual and potential power.

6. Under Nazi law, the Food Estate was created as a self-administering corporation of public law, endowed with far-reaching administrative independence. Chief among its prerogatives was the right to impose compulsory membership upon all persons subject to its jurisdiction. To handle legal problems arising from its administrative operations, the Food Estate relied upon both the regular state courts and special adjudicative agencies.

7. Production and marketing, as the chief interests of the Food Estate, were subject to vigorous controls, including quota systems, delivery certificates, farm censuses, price zones, etc. The details, however, varied both according to the product involved and the particular administrative set-up established for the industry. Rationing was not legally the concern of the Food Estate, but there was a close connection by virtue of the fact that regional and district Peasant Leaders also headed the regional and district Food Offices. Among the first of the rural institutions to be placed under Nazi control were the agricultural co-operatives, which were integrated into the structure of the Food Estate.

8. Farmers, many of them political and ideological supporters of Nazism, were first won over by the economic and incentive policies of the Food Estate, by the abolition of the trade unions, and by the Nazi legislation on Entailed Estates. In the final phases, however, the Nazis were forced to adopt pressure tactics. After 1943, as the over-all position of the Reich deteriorated, these usually assumed the form of relying more and more upon Party adjuncts for enforcement procedures. By the end of the war, the **Gauleiter** was playing a greater role in the Food Estate program than the provincial Peasant Leaders.

THE GERMAN FOOD ESTATE (REICHSNÄHRSTAND)

I. INTRODUCTION

The Reich Food Estate (Reichsnährstand) was organized in 1933 as a corporation of public law for the purpose of controlling the production, marketing, and prices of agricultural products. It was to accomplish these aims by integrating into a single organization all groups and individuals concerned with the production, processing, and distribution of such products. This step, one of the earliest taken by the Nazis to implement their plan of autarky, was based on the assumption that a satisfactory food position would facilitate the prosecution of a successful war. From its inception the Food Estate, while it had non-aggressive objectives as well, formed an important part of the Nazis' plans for the domination of Europe.

Under the German Empire and the Weimar Republic, agricultural production was relatively free from state control. Official farm organizations could advise the farmer what to plant but could not enforce any decisions. Under the Nazis, however, the leadership principle upon which the Nazi state was erected was followed to the nth degree in the field of agriculture. From the Reich Peasant Leader at the top to the local Peasant Leader at the base of the structure, the institution was a Nazi creation. To the individual farmer, the Food Estate became the most obvious thing in life, for throughout Germany more than sixty thousand local Peasant Leaders were engaged in giving instructions on what to plant, how much to deliver, and how much to retain. At the same time, it is clear that the farmers responded to the program because of a variety of pressures and incentives. The individual farmer may not have liked the Food Estate any more than he favored any

state apparatus that ran counter to his traditional conservatism; but the German farming class was already used to a certain degree of regimentation, and politically the German peasants had already begun to support the Nazi Party at the time the Food Estate was established.

The complexity of the Food Estate's organization was so great that it cannot be fully described within the confines of a single paper, but its broad outlines on central, regional, and local levels can be indicated. Its pattern can be seen in the central administration. Here were the supreme leader, his assistants, and the divisions in charge of personnel and production. Since both the regional and district associations duplicated this model, the lines of control ran directly from top to bottom.

The picture, of course, was not always as simple as this schematic presentation would suggest, for the Food Estate underwent several administrative changes in response to new situations, most of them arising from the war. For example, the administrative office of the Food Estate itself became a division of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, the head of which was also the head of the Food Estate, while the Peasant Associations, on the regional and district levels, became sections of the Food Offices when those institutions were established to take care of rationing and allied matters.

Once the products were produced and delivered in accordance with quotas or needs, they were handled by one of nine central marketing associations. These associations, in turn, included a variety of regional economic associations, the number of which varied according to the nature of the particular industry. For example, the cattle industry had more regional associations than did the fishing industry;

the regional associations of the brewing industry covered larger areas than, for instance, those of the garden produce industry. Whatever the geographic differences, however, the functions of the marketing associations and their parts were the same: to get the products from the producers to the distributors and consumers.

Administratively, in spite of its enormous complexities, the Food Estate was efficiently organized. In Nazi terms, it could be described as almost perfect; it was almost completely Nazified from top to bottom.[1] In terms of results, however, the Food Estate fell short of expectations. As the war progressed, it became apparent that the Party was having to respond to pressure tactics to secure the cooperation of the farmers. Indeed, only the power exercised by the local Peasant Leader, who had a virtual life-and-death control over the farmers in his area, enabled the Food Estate to achieve the statistical results that it did.

1. It should be observed here that the traditional forces in German agriculture were not in control of the Food Estate. The emphasis which the Food Estate's program placed on grain and potatoes benefited, it is true, the larger estate owners in the east more than the peasant farmers in other parts of Germany. But Junker control of the German food program had been broken, nonetheless. Although some Junkers held posts in the Food Estate, they did so as Nazis, not as members of the nobility, and were unable to influence basic agricultural policy. Every policy-making key position throughout the structure of the Food Estate, in fact, was occupied by a non-Junker National Socialist. Moreover, the Junkers' main pressure organ in the field of agriculture -- the Agrarian League (see below) -- had been shorn of its power and sub-ordinated to the Food Estate.

II. AGRICULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONTROLS BEFORE 1933

A. Agricultural Organizations in Pre-Nazi Times

Prior to 1933 a vast network of agricultural organizations had been built up in Germany.[1] It consisted of pressure groups -- private and semi-public -- technical societies, political factions, and trade unions. Many of these organizations were established under the Empire and had become a part of the pattern of rural life. For the most part, however, the reactionary elements in the farm population--the estate owners -- enjoyed a dominant position and utilized their control for their own purposes.

The structure of the agricultural organizations under the Weimar Republic resembled that of the pre-Nazi industrial groups and, like them, followed territorial and occupational lines. There also existed, apart from these territorial and occupational organizations, political associations and groups concerned with labor relations.

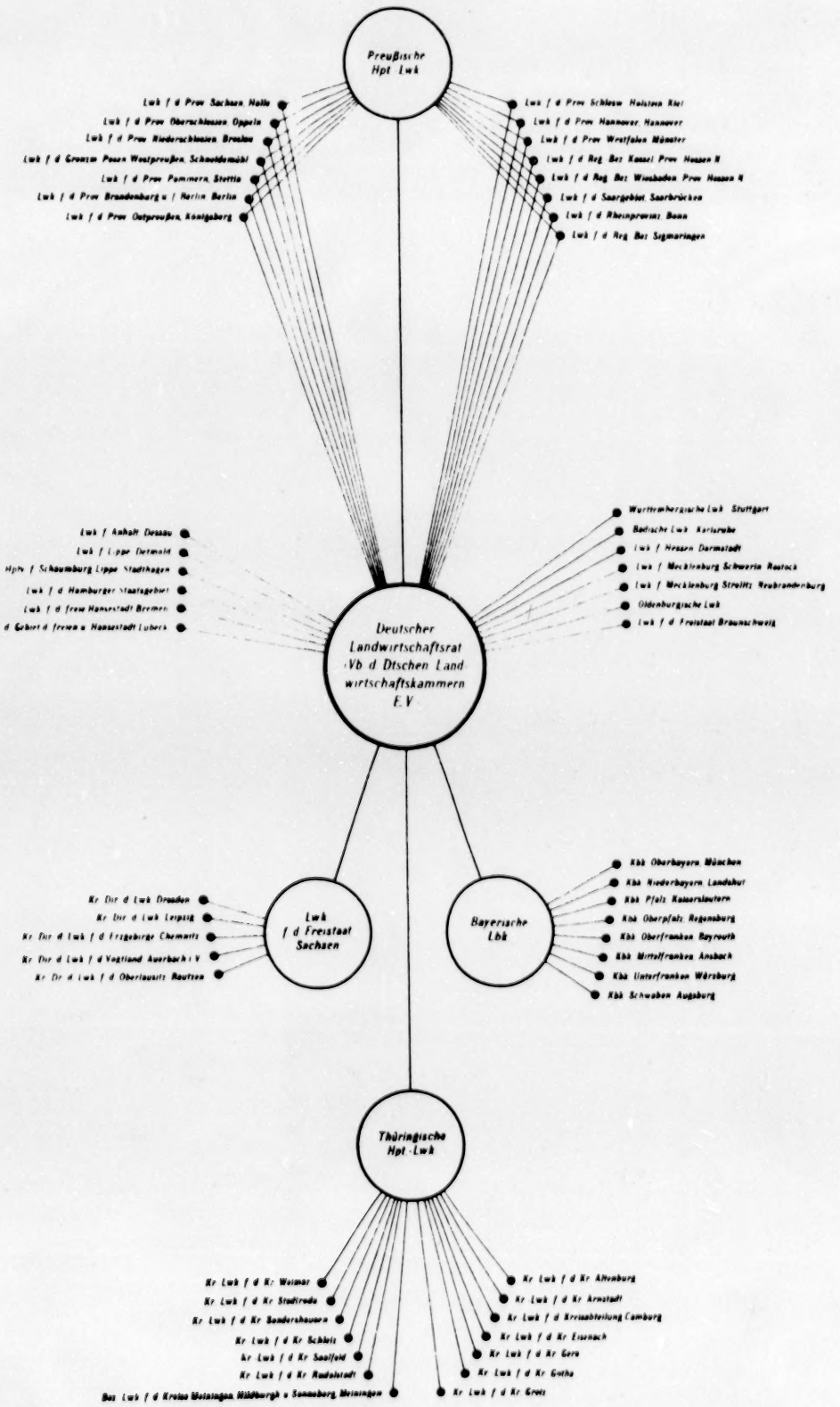
1. Territorial Organizations.[2] The chief organizations in the field were the Agricultural Chambers (Landswirtschafts-kammern, state-sponsored organizations of peasants and estate-owners, through which the latter groups expressed their views on the agricultural policies of the state. The peak or holding association for the Chambers was the German Council for Agriculture (Deutscher Landwirtschaftsrat), to which the local bodies of most areas were directly attached. The Chambers of Prussia, Bavaria, Thuringia, and Saxony were, however, affiliated with the Council through state bodies. When the Nazis came to power the Chambers were absorbed by the Food Estate.

1. In 1921 there were 126 agricultural organizations and 32 concerned with forestry; cf. Walter von Altrock, Die Organisationen der deutschen Landwirtschaft.
2. See accompanying chart from Jahrbuch der Berufsverbände 1930, p. 55.

Die Organisation der Deutschen Landwirtschaftskammern.

Der Deutsche Landwirtschaftsrat gegr. 1872 ist ein freier Vb. Er zählt 98 Mitglieder und zwar 91 ordentliche, von den Lwk. delegiert, und 6 außerordentliche aus den Kreisen der Wissenschaft hinzugewählt

Abkürzungen: Bez. = Bezirk. Hpt. Lwk. = Hauptlandwirtschaftskammer. Hptv. = Hauptverein. Kbk. = Kreisbauernkammer. Kr. = Kreis. Kr. Dir. = Kreisdirektion. Lbk. = Landesbauernkammer. lw. = landwirtschaftlich. Lwk. = Landwirtschaftskammer.


Preußische Hpt.-Lwk.
Lwk. f. d. Prov. Sachsen, Halle
Lwk. f. d. Prov. Oberschlesien, Oppeln
Lwk. f. d. Prov. Niederschlesien, Breslau
Lwk. f. d. Grenzm. Posen-Westpreußen, Schneidemühl
Lwk. f. d. Prov. Pommern, Stettin
Lwk. f. d. Prov. Brandenburg u. f. Berlin, Berlin
Lwk. f. d. Prov. Ostpreußen, Königsberg
Lwk. f. d. Prov. Schlesw.-Holstein, Kiel
Lwk. f. d. Prov. Hannover, Hannover
Lwk. f. d. Prov. Westfalen, Münster
Lwk. f. d. Reg.-Bez. Kassel, Prov. Hessen-N.
Lwk. f. d. Reg.-Bez. Wiesbaden, Prov. Hessen-N.
Lwk. f. d. Saargebiet, Saarbrücken
Lwk. f. d. Rheinprovinz, Bonn
Lwk. f. d. Reg.-Bez. Sigmaringen
Württembergische Lwk., Stuttgart
Badische Lwk., Karlsruhe
Lwk. f. Hessen, Darmstadt
Lwk. f. Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Rostock
Lwk. f. Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Neubrandenburg
Oldenburgische Lwk.
Lwk. f. d. Freistaat Braunschweig
Lwk. f. Anhalt, Dessau
Lwk. f. Lippe, Detmold
Lw. Hptv. f. Schaumburg-Lippe, Stadthagen
Lwk. f. d. Hamburger Staatsgebiet
Lwk. f. d. freie Hansestadt Bremen
Lwk. f. d. Gebiet d. freien u. Hansestadt Lübeck
Deutscher Landwirtschaftsrat (Vb. d. Dtschen. Landwirtschaftskammern E.V.)
Lwk. f. d. Freistaat Sachsen
Kr. Dir. d. Lwk. Dresden
Kr. Dir. d. Lwk. Leipzig
Kr. Dir. d. Lwk. f. d. Erzgebirge, Chemnitz
Kr. Dir. d. Lwk. f. d. Vogtland, Auerbach i. V.
Kr. Dir. d. Lwk. f. d. Oberlausitz, Bautzen
Bayerische Lbk.
Kbk. Oberbayern, München
Kbk. Niederbayern, Landshut
Kbk. Pfalz, Kaiserslautern
Kbk. Oberpfalz, Regensburg
Kbk. Oberfranken, Bayreuth
Kbk. Mittelfranken, Ansbach
Kbk. Unterfranken, Würzburg
Kbk. Schwaben, Augsburg
Thüringische Hpt.-Lwk.
Kr. Lwk. f. d. Kr. Weimar
Kr. Lwk. f. d. Kr. Stadtroda
Kr. Lwk. f. d. Kr. Sondershausen
Kr. Lwk. f. d. Kr. Schleiz
Kr. Lwk. f. d. Kr. Saalfeld
Kr. Lwk. f. d. Kr. Rudolstadt
Bez. Lwk. f. d. Kreise Meiningen, Hildburgh. u. Sonneberg, Meiningen
Kr. Lwk. f. d. Kr. Altenburg
Kr. Lwk. f. d. Kr. Arnstadt
Kr. Lwk. f. d. Kreisabteilung Camburg
Kr. Lwk. f. d. Kr. Eisenach
Kr. Lwk. f. d. Kr. Gera
Kr. Lwk. f. d. Kr. Gotha
Kr. Lwk. f. d. Kr. Greiz

Bemerkungen: Von der fehlenden Reihenfolge der Länder ist aus darstellerischen Gründen abgewichen worden.

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2. Occupational Organizations.[1] No strict line of demarcation existed between the functional and the territorial groups. Although the Reich Board for German Agriculture (Reichsausschuss der deutschen Landwirtschaft) was the peak association for the functional groups, its policy-making apparatus was the above-mentioned German Council for Agriculture.

The balance of power in the functional structure was exercised by the Reich Agrarian League (Reichslandbund), which consisted of thirty-nine corporate bodies with a membership in 1929 of 5,600,000. This Agrarian League, a vehicle of the reactionary estate owners,[2] was consequently the most powerful pressure group in agriculture and was closely identified with the German Nationalist Party (Deutschnationale Volkspartei), although it often presented its own candidates in elections.

Other organizations affiliated with the Reich Board were the agriculture co-operatives, the Association of German Sugar Refiners, and the Society for the Promotion of Internal Colonization (Gesellschaft zur Förderung der inneren Kolonisation). Such affiliates were almost exclusively concerned with economic problems and worked in cooperation with the Agricultural Society (Landwirtschaftsgesellschaft), another member body, which was interested in agricultural education and improvements in farm techniques. The territorial divisions of the latter body were attached to the Agricultural Chambers by interlocking directorates; the chairmen of the regional divisions of the Society, for example, were members of the executive committees of the Chambers.

1. See accompanying chart from Jahrbuch der Berufsverbände, 1930, p. 44.
2. For instance, eleven million hectares of land were controlled by 1.7 percent of the land-owning members of the League.

Another affiliate was the Association of Peasant Unions (Vereinigung der deutschen Bauernvereine), which drew its greatest strength from western and southern Germany, and generally supported the Center Party.

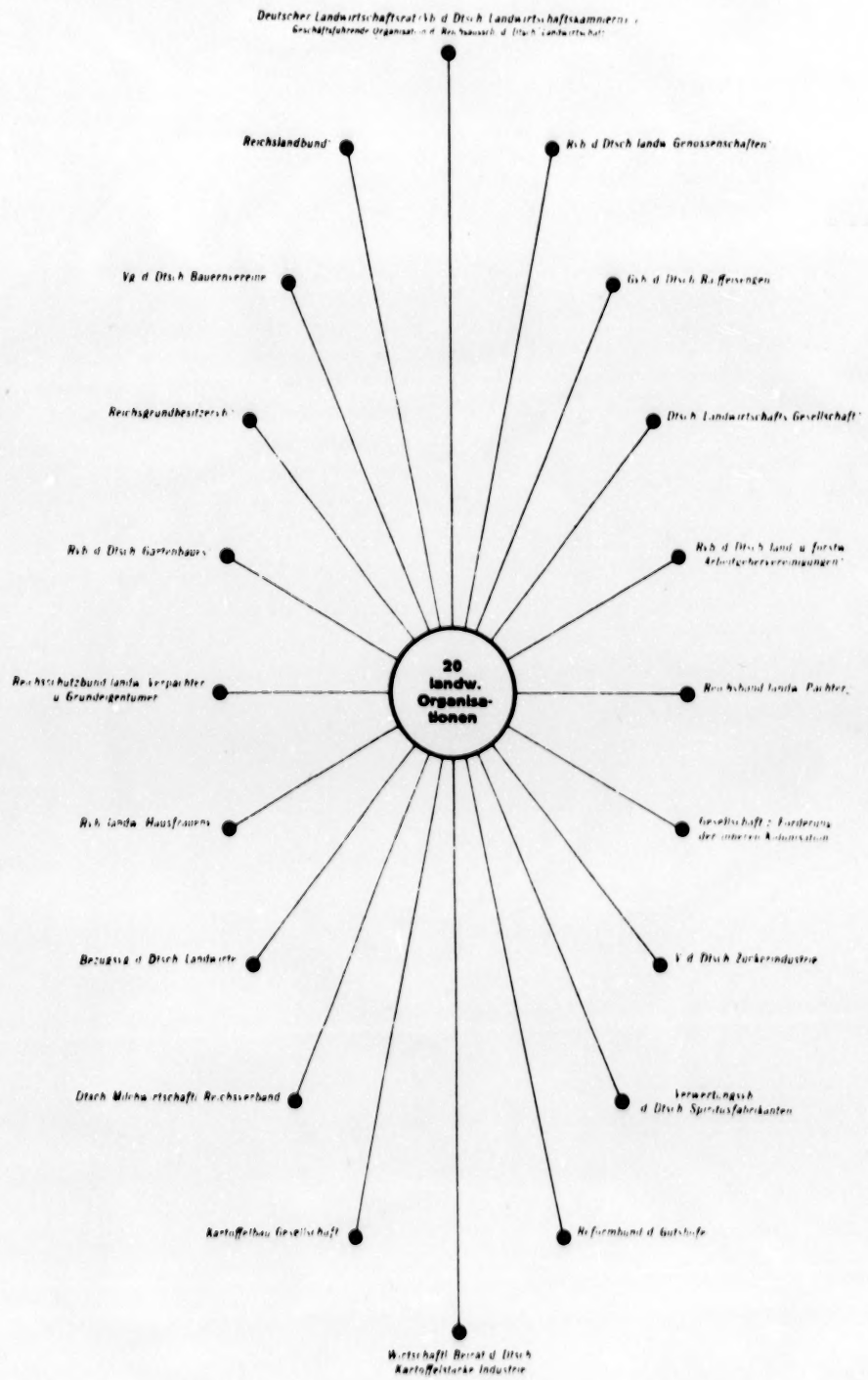
3. Political Groups. In general, the farm population supported either the Nationalist Party or the Center Party, but in some instances it organized political factions of its own or adhered to smaller, local parties. This latter situation developed as a rule when the peasantry became dissatisfied with the farm policies of the major parties, as happened in the period beginning in 1928 when the Christian Peasant and Country Peoples' Party (Christliche Bauern- und Landvolkpartei) and the German Peasant Party (Deutsche Bauernpartei) won new followers. Although it purported to speak for all farmers, the Landvolkpartei was actually dominated by the owners of large estates. It secured its greatest representation in 1930, when it held eighteen seats in the Reichstag. The Bauernpartei was supported by the small and middle peasants in the south and west, and reached the zenith of its political power, with seven Reichstag seats, in 1928.[1]

4. Employer and Employee Organizations. The employers enjoyed an overwhelming advantage in employee relations by virtue of their organizational superiority and because of the lack of political and social consciousness among farm workers. Moreover, the Reich Union of Employers' Associations in Agriculture and Forestry (Reichsverband der deutschen land- und forstwirtschaftlichen Arbeitgebervereinigungen) was affiliated with the powerful Central Committee of the Association of Entrepreneurs (Zentral Ausschuss der Unternehmverbände), to which industrialists also belonged.

1. In this year, 62 of the 491 Reichstag members were farmers by vocation.

Reichsausschuß der Deutschen Landwirtschaft

Der Reichsausschuß d. Dtsch. Landwirtschaft beruht auf freier Vereinbarung landw. Körperschaften, die ihre Tätigkeit über das ganze dtsch. Reichsgebiet erstrecken, er hat den Zweck, in wichtigen Fragen der Gesetzgebung und Wirtschaft, welche d. Dtsch. Landwirtschaft betreffen, ein gemeinsames Vorgehen der ihn bildenden Körperschaften herbeizuführen, um ihre Wirksamkeit zu verstärken.



Anmerkung: Die mit einem * versehenen Vb. sind die Vereinsmitgliedsorganisationen des Reichsausschusses d. Dtsch. Landwirtschaft.

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The Reich Union, furthermore, was associated with the Agrarian League and the Union of German Employers' Associations (Vereinigung der deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände).

The position of the employees, in contrast, was weakened by the fact that trade union organizations had made little progress among the farm laborers, a high percentage of whom were migratory and thus were more difficult to organize into unions. Relatively new in the field and faced with a difficult task of organization, the farm unions were able to organize only 11 percent of the farm workers during the period under review. The largest number of organized farm workers belonged to either the German Agricultural Workers' Union (Deutscher Landarbeiterverband) or the Union of Gardeners and Garden Workers (Verband der Gärtner und Gärtnereiarbeiter), both affiliated with the Social Democratic Federation of German Trade Unions (Allgemeiner deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund). The remainder of the organized farm workers were in the Central Union of Farm Workers (Zentralverband der Landarbeiter), an organization containing both workers and estate owners but controlled by the Federal Agrarian League.

5. The Political Orientation of the Agricultural Organizations. The majority of the farm organizations were politically reactionary. As early as 1930, for example, Dr. Schindler of the German Council for Agriculture advocated a plan for the reorganization of marketing practices which foreshadowed in almost every detail the later structure of the Food Estate. Furthermore, all of the Agriculture Chambers, even in Württemberg and Bavaria where farm laborers had the right to vote, were dominated by the landowners. The hold of the latter was secured, in some cases, by making voting power dependent upon the amount of land owned.

Through their influence during the last years of the Weimar Republic, moreover, the landowners were successful in uniting most of the peasantry in the so-called "Green Front," a coalition of the important farm groups. Anti-Semitic and ultra-nationalistic in outlook, the Green Front worked with the Nazis in engineering the overthrow of the Republic.

B. Marketing and Processing Controls in Pre-Nazi Times

The Weimar Republic was forced into undertaking fairly extensive control of agricultural marketing and processing as a means of combating the effects of the post-war depression. As early as 1926, for example, it was necessary for the Reich Government to intervene in the grain trade. Grain Corporations (Getreidegesellschaften) were organized to support the grain market, and by 1929 state control had been extended to the purchase of grain. (After being rendered unfit for human consumption, this grain was sold below market prices to the farmers for fodder.) The most complete regimentation during the pre-Nazi period was introduced in 1930, when it was provided that all grain, domestic and foreign, could be marketed only through Reich boards (Reichstellen). These boards were divided into two sections: the administrative division (Geschäftsabteilung), set up as a limited liability corporation and an administrative council (Verwaltungsrat). The councils were empowered to issue ordinances and to make their own decisions; for example, the flour mills were required by the council administering the grain trade to utilize specified quantities of domestic wheat as a means of reducing existing surpluses.

Grain controls were the first to be combined by the Nazis into a comprehensive marketing organization. For instance, the Reich Corn Board (Reichsmaisstelle) was expanded by the Nazis into a Reich Board for Grain, Fodder, and other Agricultural Products (Reichsstelle für Getreide, Futtermittel und sonstige landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse); the administrative division became an institution of public law and exercised the functions of the former German Grain Trade Corporation.

Another example of regulation of agricultural processing and marketing in the pre-Nazi period was the Milk Law of 1930, which authorized the state governments to organize milk producers and processors into marketing associations. The government also encouraged the creation of egg marketing cooperatives as a means of regulating that field of activity. Furthermore, subsidies and credit facilities were granted to millers and grain dealers, most of whom were already heavily indebted to government credit agencies. Meat dealers and livestock merchants also received subsidies to defray part of the transportation costs to scarcity areas. In addition to these measures, the use of domestic surpluses was prescribed by the Republic. For instance, a law of 1930 required the mixing of industrial alcohol produced from potatoes with imported fuels; a law of 1932 required that domestic fats be added to vegetable oils in the manufacture of margarine.

Other controls over marketing and processing were effected by cartel arrangements. The trend in agriculture followed the post-war development of cartellization in industry. As early as 1926, for example, the sugar refiners organized an export association which required its members to export sugar as a means of encouraging beet sugar production

and of keeping up sugar prices. In 1931, to offset the decline in the domestic demand for sugar, this cartel was extended to include the producers as well as the processors, and its functions were expanded to cover prices and acreage planted in sugar beets.

These developments in the field of marketing and processing formed the basis for Nazi measures in the same areas. The essential change came in the social purpose behind the controls: the Nazis geared the entire system to their preparations for war, while under the Republic agricultural controls had been largely stop-gap measures designed to save the heavily mortgaged farms from disaster and to expedite the marketing of large surpluses.

III. THE FOOD ESTATE

When the Nazis came to power in 1933, they lost little time in moving in on these Weimar organizations. Their first step was the organization of a Party propaganda agency, the Reich Office for the Rural Population (Reichsamt für das Landvolk), supplemented by the National Socialist Agro-Political Apparatus (Agrarpolitischer Apparat) which began early in 1933 to organize the rural population along political lines.

The most important of the early Nazi agencies in the field of agriculture was the Reich Leadership Community of the Peasantry (Reichsführergemeinschaft des deutschen Bauerntums), a Party agency which had a direct relationship to the later Food Estate. This agency was able to capture control of the most influential agricultural organizations without much difficulty, because the policy-making officials, as well as most of the rank and file, of the German Council for Agriculture, the Federation of Agricultural Cooperatives, and the Reich Agrarian League were pro-Nazi. The political sentiments of the estate owners and peasantry had, indeed, been manifested in the elections of 1928 and 1930, when the rural areas returned the first majorities the Nazis had obtained in national elections.[1]

A. The Early Structure of the Food Estate

Within a year after their advent to power, the Nazis moved further to organize agriculture according to their own conceptions. The Reich Food Estate, the institution that was to dominate this phase of German life, was first established as an autonomous corporation of public law on 13 September 1933. The basic act was entitled the "Law

1. For example, Franconia, Upper Bavaria and Swabia, the Palestinate, and the farming regions of Weser-Ems.

for the Temporary Organization of the Food Estate and the Measures for Market and Price Control of Agricultural Products" (Gesetz über den vorlaufigen Aufbau des Reichsnährstandes und Massnahmen zur Markt- und Preisregelung landwirtschaftlicher Erzeugnisse). In line with Nazi principles, a Peasant Leader (Reichsbauernführer) was placed at the head of the new organization. Since the individual who became the Peasant Leader of the Food Estate (Walter Darré) was also the Minister of Food and Agriculture, a personal union was effected between the government and the public agency.

Membership in the Food Estate was widely inclusive. All persons concerned with the production, processing, and marketing of agricultural commodities were compelled to join. All other organizations connected with agricultural problems were either abolished or integrated into the new agency. All trade unions representative of farm workers and employees were dissolved. The interests of the workers were first entrusted to the direct control of the Reich Labor Front, but were later returned to the Food Estate.

The corporate structure of the Food Estate was divided into two closely interrelated sections, both of which were based upon the leadership principle. The first or horizontal section consisted of a hierarchy of regional, district, and local Peasant Associations (Landes-, Kreis-, Orts-Bauernschaften). These bodies included both individuals and enterprises concerned with agriculture and the food industry. The second section, which was organized vertically and functionally, consisted of functional groups united into cartels (marketing associations) for the internal control of production and distribution of farm products. Supervision over the export and import of foodstuffs was placed under the jurisdiction of Reichsstellen.

In the beginning, four administrative divisions were established within the Food Estate. The most important surviving organizations were fitted into one or another of these divisions, which were duplicated in the regional and district Peasant Associations. Division I (The Man) comprised the former Reich Leadership Community of the Peasant. Division II (The Farm) included the German Council for Agriculture and the Agricultural Chambers. The Federation of Agricultural Cooperatives went into Division III. Division IV (Rural Trade) contained wholesalers, retailers, processors, and manufacturers of agricultural products. In 1935, however, Divisions III and IV were combined.

B. Changes in the Structure of the Food Estate

With the outbreak of war in September 1939, the internal structure of the Food Estate underwent some basic changes. The entire organization became a division of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and was brought under the general supervision of the Ministerial Council for Defense of the Reich. With the introduction of rationing, furthermore, Food Offices (Ernahrungsämter) were established on the regional and local levels. In order to integrate distribution with the existing organization for the control of production, the Peasant Associations became Division "A" of the Food Offices and were concerned with production and procurement.[1] The newly formed rationing agencies became Division "B" of the Food Offices. At the same time, the system of Central Marketing Associations was extended to include all agricultural products; the Reichsstellen, hitherto distinct agencies controlling food exports and imports, became the trading divisions of the Central Marketing Associations.

1. See C, 2, below.

A further change came about in 1942, probably as a result of internal Party conflicts. The three remaining administrative divisions of the Food Estate on the national, regional, and local levels were reduced to two; Division II (The Farm) and Division III (The Market) were retained in their previous forms and with the same designations. The functions previously performed by Division I (The Man) were transferred to a Party organization, the Reich Agency for the Rural Population. This reshuffling of structure and personnel represented a victory for the group within the Party headed by Herbert Backe, who believed in complete Party control of the indoctrination of the farm population and the use of a mixture of terror and interest incentives to increase food production. Backe thus won out over Walter Darre', who was ousted as head of the Food Estate.

C. The Later Structure of the Food Estate

The Reich Food Estate finally developed into one of the most completely integrated and highly Nazified institutions in Germany.[1] Its personnel -- down, at least, to the district levels -- was almost 100 percent Nazi, a fact amply confirmed by statements of peasants in Allied-occupied

1. The degree of control, however, exercised by actual Party members and officials varied. The horizontal structure as represented by Division II, the Peasant Associations, was almost completely Nazified. All officials, regional and local, were subject to the approval of the corresponding Party officials. In many instances, moreover, Food Estate officials ranked high in the SS and SA; in 1934, for example, seventeen of the then twenty-four provincial Peasant Leaders were members of one or the other of these two organizations. The vertical structure of the Food Estate (Division III, comprising the central marketing associations) was not so completely Nazified in a formal sense. Several of the central marketing associations and some of the regional economic associations were headed by businessmen. The chairman of the central marketing association for the brewing industry was a director of a Munich brewery, and many of the chairmen of the regional economic associations were persons of similar background and training. The fact, however, that these men were not actually members of the Party does not, of course, mean that they were not tarred by the Nazi brush. While they were businessmen carrying on the functions of a business, they were nevertheless Nazi businessmen.

Germany.

Administratively the Food Estate was organized along central, regional, and functional lines. The functional phases were, in turn, developed along central and regional lines. The effect of this organization was to assure complete control of operations on the lower levels by the central administration. The several offices and activities involved are discussed in the following pages.

1. The Central Administrative Structure. The offices and divisions concerned with the central direction of the Food Estate fell into the following pattern:

Reich Peasant Leader (Reichsbauernführer) - Herbert Backe
  Assistant to the Peasant Leader -- Hans Riecke
  Chief of the Administrative Office (General Policies) -- Gustav Behrens
  Press Liaison Office -- Diplom. Landwirt Rust

Reich Administrative Division Chief -- Walther Seidler
  Office of the Peasant Leader (Section 9a of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture) Chief -- Dr. Manns
  Reich Division, Press, Education, and Propaganda -- Deetzen
  Reich Division II (The Farm) -- Albert Brummerbaum
  Reich Division III (The Market) -- Wilhelm Küper

The Reich Peasant Leader was simultaneously Minister of Food and Agriculture and leader of the Reich Office for the Rural Population. He was thus responsible for the operation of the entire institutional apparatus concerned with agriculture and the rural population.

The Administrative Office concerned with general policies included the Assistant to the Peasant Leader and the Press Liaison Offices, in addition to its own Chief of Division. It was, moreover, an autonomous body structurally, distinct from the office of the Reich Peasant Leader.

The Office of the Peasant Leader was simultaneously Section 9a of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, and comprised three divisions as follows:

a. Press, Education, and Propaganda. After the transfer of the functions of indoctrination to the Reich Office for the Rural Population, this Division was concerned primarily with publication. Under its direction, prior to the war, the Food Estate Printing Office (Reichsnährstand Verlag) issued fifty-six weekly papers with a combined weekly circulation of 2,500,000. Leading papers included "The National Socialist Rural Post" (Nationalsozialistische Landpost), the "Law of the Food Estate" (Recht des Reichsnährstandes), and the weekly papers issued by each Peasant Association.

b. Division II (The Farm). This Division was concerned with the "battle for production" in its broadest sense: the enforcement of measures directed to self-sufficiency in agriculture. It exercised general supervision over agricultural science, vocational training, and the planning and co-ordination of crop production. There were eight subdivisions dealing with farm management, soils and plants, animals, occupational training, agricultural equipment, etc.

c. Division III (The Market). This Division was by far the most important office in the Food Estate set-up. It exercised control over the marketing associations[1] and the cooperatives and regulated the distribution of agricultural products from the farm to the processors and marketers. Special sections were concerned with statistics, market supervision, and agricultural credit. There was also a supervisory sub-division for each of the Central Marketing Associations.

2. The Regional Structure. The regional structure of the Reich Food Estate was too comprehensive to be easily presented in detail. The accompanying table indicates the locations

1. See 3, 4, below.

and leaders of the thirty-three Regional Peasant Associations (Landesbauernschaften), but merely notes the existence of the District Peasant Associations (Kreisbauernschaften) and the Local Peasant Associations (Ortsbauernschaften). The best available information suggests that there were between 700 and 721 of the District Associations and upwards of 60,000 of the local associations. The administrative organization of the central Office of the Peasant Leader was duplicated in both the Regional and the District Peasant Associations, which were responsible for the execution of the directives issued by the central Office.

The keystone of the entire structure, however, was the local peasant leader. There were approximately 60,000 of these officials, who were in direct contact with the farmers and were immediately responsible for the success or failure of the production schedules. Nearly always Party stalwarts, these local peasant leaders usually performed their tasks without pay.

After the outbreak of the war, as was noted above, the Regional Peasant Associations were incorporated into Regional Food Offices under the supervision of the highest provincial authorities; in Prussia they were under the Oberpräsidenten. As Division "A" of each of the Provincial or Regional Food Offices (Landesernährungsamter), the Regional Associations continued to perform the function of controlling the production and procurement of food. Rationing was entrusted to the Division "B" of each of the Food Offices, which were staffed with professional civil servants. Administratively, the Regional Food Offices were under the direction of the Regional Peasant Leaders, although these officials were also the heads of Division "A" within each Food Office. In some instances, furthermore, the district Peasant Leaders were directors of the Food Offices, subject to the jurisdiction

of the Landräte in the Landkreise and of the Oberbürgermeister in the Stadtkreise.

In spite of the close administrative relationship between the two divisions of the Food Offices, the areas covered by the two divisions of each Food Office were not coterminous. For example, there were thirty-three Regional Peasant Associations and only thirty Regional Food Offices, while one thousand Food Offices controlled rationing in the areas covered by the more than seven hundred District Peasant Associations.

Table 1. THE REGIONAL, DISTRICT, AND LOCAL STRUCTURE OF THE FOOD ESTATE
(The horizontal structure)

A. The Peasant Associations (Landesbauernschaften)

There were thirty-three such associations, which actually comprised the "A" Divisions of the Regional Food Offices. (Data on the "B" Divisions are not available).

Place	Peasant Leader
East Prussia	Erich Spickschen
Danzig-West Prussia	Lothar Rethel
Pomerania	Willy Blödern
Wartheland	Hans Kohnert
Kurmark	Martin Wendt
Lower Saxony	Joachim Eggeling
Saxon-Anhalt	Otto Lehmann
Thuringia	Rudolph Penckert
Weser-Ems	Jacques Groneveld
Mecklenburg	Reinhard Siemann
Schleswig-Holstein	Wilhelm Struve
Rheinland	Eltz von Rübenach
Moselland	Otto Dreyer
Westphalia (north)	Ernst Kienker
Westphalia (south)	Max Petersmann
Sudetenland	Dr. Raschke
Lower Silesia	Otto Jaeschke
Kurhessen	Walter Seidler
Hessen-Nassau	Richard Wagner
Westmark	Julius Scheu
Baden	Fritz Engler-Füsslen
Württemberg	Alfred Arnold
Bavaria	Wilhelm Meinberg
Bavaria (East Mark)	-- Deininger
Tirol-Vorarlberg	-- Landmann
Steiermark	Sepp Hainzl
Karnten	Rheinhold Hüber
Vienna	-- Mayerzedt
Upper Danube	Alois Dornetshuber
Lower Danube	Anton Reinthaller
Saxony	Helmut Körner
Upper Silesia	-- Eisner
Salzburg	Michael Friesacher

(Table I continued on following page)

(Table continued from preceding page)

B. District Peasant Associations (Kreisbauernschaften)

The exact number of these associations was somewhere between 700 and 721.

C. Local Peasant Associations (Ortsbauernschaften)

The total number of these associations was upwards of 60,000.

3. The Functional Organization of the Food Estate. All persons and organizations connected in any way with the production and procurement of food were organized in the Peasant Associations discussed above. Structurally, these Associations represented the horizontal framework of the Food Estate; they extended over the whole face of German agriculture. From a functional or vertical point of view, the Food Estate was organized into a number of compulsory cartels of producers, processors, and distributors of agricultural products. It was the purpose of these cartel arrangements, functioning as marketing associations, to combine the various interests connected with a single product or related products. For example, organizations of hop growers, brewers, and distributors of beer were all grouped into the central marketing association for the brewing industry (Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Brauwirtschaft). There were nine such peak organizations, embracing the regional economic associations (Wirtschaftsverbände) in their respective fields.[1]

a. Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Getriede und Futtermittelwirtschaft -- grain and feed

b. Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Viehwirtschaft -- livestock

c. Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Milch, Fett, und Eierwirtschaft -- milk, fats, and eggs

1. See Appendix A for a detailed list of these marketing associations, giving the regional bodies and their structural frameworks. On the regional economic associations, see 5, below.

d. Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Kartoffelwirtschaft -- potatoes

e. Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Gartenbauwirtschaft -- garden produce

f. Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Weinbauschaft -- wine

g. Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Brauwirtschaft-- brewing

h. Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Zuckerwirtschaft -- sugar

i. Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Fischwirtschaft -- fish

The number of allied regional associations varied in each case according to the type of industry involved. There were, for example, twenty-one regional associations in the marketing association for grain and feed, twenty-six concerned with milk, fats, and eggs, but only fifteen concerned with wine. The brewing industry had six regional associations the sugar industry ten, and the livestock, potato, and gardening associations had respectively twenty-four, twenty-three, and twenty-four. The chief exception to this pattern was the structure of the marketing association for fish, which was based on branch offices (Aussenstellen) located in five major centers of the fishing industry. Regardless of the numerical differences, however, the functions of the marketing associations were in every case the same.

4. The Operations of the Central Marketing Associations. After 1939, the central marketing associations operated through the following agencies:

a. The Business Divisions. These divisions Geschäfts-abteilungen), which were organized as corporations of public law, assumed the regulatory functions formerly exercised by the Reichsstellen. In cases where no such offices existed, new divisions were created. The legal status of the business divisions depended upon the circumstances under which they

were established. If they were the legal heirs of the Reichsstellen, they retained their character as Reich institutions and worked in close cooperation with the marketing associations through a joint chairman. If newly established, they became integral parts of the marketing associations. In the latter case, their legal basis was narrowed, and they were limited to performance of the functions of the central marketing association itself.

b. Advisory Bodies. Although the leadership principle operated throughout the marketing associations and the directors were appointed by the head of the Food Estate, the operating members of the cartels appointed members to several advisory bodies which served in each field but had no direct influence upon policy. An administrative council (Verwaltungsrat) in connection with each association brought together representatives of the functional groups with representatives of the consumers and the Wehrmacht. The members of such councils were appointed by the head of the Food Estate upon the recommendation of the groups represented. The council aided in the formulation and execution of market regulations and enjoyed the right of appeal from decisions of the chairman of the particular marketing association. The interests of the various groups within each association were also protected by functional committees (Fachausschüsse), whose members were appointed by the chairman of each marketing association. The annual report of the marketing association was submitted to a group known as the assembly, which, however, played no part in the formulation of policies.

5. The Regional Economic Associations. In the general discussion of the central marketing associations above, it was indicated that each of the nine major groups was divided into regional economic associations (Wirtschaftsverbände)

which carried out the orders of the central organization. The regional economic associations included all producers and distributors of farm products who operated in the given area and were engaged in production or marketing of the products with which the given economic association was specifically concerned.

These regional bodies were organized on both a functional and a territorial basis. In some cases, the territory covered was the same as that covered by a Peasant Association; this pattern was apparent in the case of the regional associations of the central marketing associations for grain and feed, garden produce, and potatoes. In other cases, the regional associations were organized according to economic districts and covered an area under the jurisdiction of several regional Peasant Associations; the brewing industry exemplified this type of development.

Administratively the regional economic associations were under Divisions "A" of each provincial Food Office, in spite of the fact that the economic areas of the regional economic associations did not correspond in all instances to the areas covered by the regional Peasant Associations. Moreover, representatives of the regional economic associations on the district levels were under the administrative jurisdiction of the district Peasant Associations. This administrative supervision over the regional economic associations by the provincial Peasant Associations was designed to promote enforcement of the plans of the Food Estate for the production and delivery of foodstuffs. Additional checks upon the regional associations were supplied by the relevant central marketing association, which had to approve the regional policies. And, in the last instance, policies were reviewed by the Reich Minister of Food and Agriculture, who was also the head of the Food Estate.

6. The Reich Office for Seed. Although the Reichsstelle für Saatgut did not correspond exactly in function or structure to the marketing associations, it is mentioned here both because of its operations and of the changes produced in the marketing associations as a result of the transfer of seed distribution to this new agency. The Seed Office was established in 1943 to assure a uniform supply of seeds for the planters. It handled the importation of seeds; distribution, a task formerly performed by each of the marketing associations, was placed in the hands of regional Seed Offices. The central office also supervised the work of the Reich Union of Cultivators (Reichsverband der Pflanzenzucht), a combine of all the seed duplicators in the Reich.

All farmers were obliged to deliver amounts of seeds as fixed by the Food Estate to the seed duplicators and received a higher quality of seed in return. The regional Seed Offices had direct control of these deliveries and exchanges which farmers were legally required to make. The Seed Offices enjoyed priorities in the purchase of seed stocks and could direct the allocation of the available supply.

IV. OPERATIONS OF THE FOOD ESTATE

The Food Estate was established on central, regional, and local levels through the functioning of the central administration, the central marketing associations, the regional economic associations, and the Peasant Associations. Lines of control extended straight from the Reich Peasant Leader, who was also Minister of Food and Agriculture, down to the local Peasant Leader in direct contact with the farmers. Other agricultural and food producers were tied to the central authorities by various administrative means. When the needs of war forced the Nazis to make changes, they integrated the already elaborate structure of the Food Estate into the new rationing program instituted for the nation. A complex of organizations thus became even more complex, including a multiplicity of associations on central and regional levels, thousands of local groups concerned with both production and rationing, and probably hundreds of thousands of individuals. Any analysis of the operations of this vast organization requires, first, an examination of the legal basis of the whole structure and the adjudicative agencies which functioned in connection with it, and, then, a survey of the way in which the Food Estate operated in controlling the production, marketing, and distribution of food.

A. The Legal Basis of the Food Estate

According to Nazi law, the Food Estate was a self-administering corporation of public law representing the peasantry, estate owners, farm labor, German agriculture, agricultural cooperatives, rural trade, and all the producers and processors of farm products. In its corporate role, it had the right to issue ordinances and assume legal responsibilities. The functions of the Food Estate were based on powers delegated by the Fuhrer and were subject to the supervision

of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, which endowed the Food Estate with independent administrative authority. In fact, even after the Food Estate became an administrative division of the Ministry it retained its administrative independence. Consequently, it possessed the right of imposing compulsory membership upon all persons subject to its jurisdiction, of levying contributions upon its members, of initiating coercive procedures, and of appointing officials and organizing arbitration committees. The power to issue ordinances applied to all fields of agricultural production, processing, and distribution; such ordinances were not necessarily limited in their application to the members of the organization.

B. Adjudicative Agencies of the Food Estate

The legal problems arising in connection with the administrative operations of the Food Estate were under the jurisdiction of one of the several agencies listed below. Which agency assumed jurisdiction in a particular case depended, however, upon the legal issues involved and the personalities concerned.

The regular state courts had jurisdiction over crimes committed against the food economy, that is, crimes such as hoarding, or illegal sales, that were directed against the public interest.

The central marketing associations and the regional economic associations had special adjudicative agencies for particular cases in their areas. For example, each regional association had sets of Grievance Committees and Arbitration Committees. Cases involving the admission or non-admission of a new enterprise into the association came within the competence of the Grievance Committees. But the question of the continuation or extermination of the membership of an

existing enterprise fell within the purview of the Arbitration Committees, the most important of the adjudicative agencies in the Food Estates.

These latter committees were of two types. The first, Market Arbitration Committees (Marktschiedsgerichte), were special courts of public law organized to handle all cases growing out of the market regulations. For example, cases involving quotas came before this type of court. They were competent also in the field of public legal questions, involving the adjudication of controversies arising out of the exercise of the independent administrative authority of the Food Estate, where such exercise of authority seemed to impinge upon the private legal rights of the members of the Food Estate. These Market Arbitration Committees were organized in conjunction with the marketing associations, and their decisions were not subject to review by the regular judicial bodies.

The second type were the Arbitration Committees for the Settlement of Delivery Problems (Lieferungsschieds-gerichte). Private legal arbitral committees, they decided controversies among members of the marketing associations involving the purchase or delivery of agricultural products. The committees were attached to regional Peasant Associations; an appeal agency sat in Berlin.

The power of the Food Estate to punish violations of price regulations was abridged after 1939, when the punitive power of the Commissioner for the Four Year Plan was enlarged. The Food Estate could take action only in those cases which were not within the jurisdiction of the Commissioner for Price Control.

C. Agricultural Production under the Food Estate

Over-all planning of delivery quotas was the function of the central marketing associations, subject to the approval

of Division III of the Food Estate. Similar functions were performed by the regional economic associations on the provincial level, and by the Peasant Leaders on the local level. In each case, of course, the action of the lower echelon had to be approved by the superiors within the Food Estate.

It is apparent that the local Peasant Leader was the key figure in the program of production. In the first place, he controlled the allocation of farm labor and electric power, the requisitioning of horses and livestock, and the deferment of farmers from military service. These powers were often employed in a punitive way to enforce fulfillment of delivery quotas or to "encourage" conformity to the Party program. If his powers still proved insufficient, the local Peasant Leader could call in special officials from the district Peasant Associations or even summon the police, as was done frequently to check upon the results of threshing.

The actual mechanics of controlling production were relatively simple. Each farmer was required to have a farm card (Hofkarte) upon which were recorded the harvest yields of his farm, the amount of livestock held, the crops grown, the needs of the farm family, and the amount of the crop to be delivered. Duplicates of the cards were held in the office of the provincial Peasant Leader. Thus the activities of each farmer were subject to constant scrutiny and inspection.

Peasant transactions in farm products were controlled in turn by means of trade certificates (Schlussschein) which were required for every transaction. Copies were retained by the buyer and the seller, and a copy was filed with the proper marketing association. Farm inspection commissions (Hofbegehungskommissionen) checked on the methods of cultivation, use of

foodstuffs, slaughter of livestock, and the over-all management of each farm.

Each farmer was required to state what crops he proposed to grow before beginning the plowing and sowing for the year. The final decision did not rest with him, however, for the local Peasant Leader, upon the receipt of directives from above, could order the individual farmer to vary the amount of crops he expected to plant. Beginning in June, moreover, special harvest reporters made monthly investigations of the growing crops. On the basis of the expected yields, the farmers were informed of the amount each was required to deliver.

The thoroughness of the controls is highlighted by what was done with the censuses of livestock and poultry. For example, annually in December of each year a general questionnaire was circulated for the purpose of determining the total number of animals and fowl in the Reich. Another count of cattle was made in June; of pigs in March and September; of all fowl in December, of hens in March, of geese and ducks in September. These frequent censuses were designed to serve as a check upon the deliveries of food and livestock by the peasants; each farmer, for instance, was required to deliver a certain number of eggs per hen, and a fine of 3 RM was levied for each egg below the fixed quota. To avoid the fine, farmers were often forced to deliver eggs from hens reserved for the use of their families. (Six hens were allowed for the use of a family of four.)

The weight of production controls upon the individual farmer is evident in other connections. Farmers could slaughter one or more pigs annually for their own consumption, but the actual slaughtering had to take place at an official

slaughterhouse. The amount of meat acquired by the farmer was then deducted from the amount he could purchase with self-suppliers' ration coupons.[1]

In cases where farmers did not produce foodstuffs directly for the consumer market, they operated under contract with the processing firms. This arrangement was found, for example, among the growers of sugar beets.

D. Marketing under the Food Estate

The marketing associations, subject to the approval of the Minister for Food and Agriculture, were responsible for the balancing of production and distribution. These goals were achieved in several ways. New firms were opened or old ones closed. In addition, distribution was expedited by means of price and delivery zones established to control the flow of commodities from the producer to the consumer.

The price zones were established by the central administration of the Food Estate in order to overcome variations in transportation costs; regions remote from the market were allowed higher price schedules than those closer to the market. In effect, these schedules amounted to transportation subsidies. For some time this plan operated under difficulties when a "Toten Winkel" (no man's land) developed to which no produce was sent because the price inducements were not large enough. The following hypothetical example will make this problem clear: if the price of wheat in an import zone was 90 cents a bushel as opposed to 85 cents in a neighboring export zone, and the freight rate from one zone to another was 5 cents per bushel, there was no incentive to ship the wheat into the importing zone.

1. Self-suppliers were members of farm families who produced their own food. Generally they were given ration cards only for sugar and marmalade and for food not produced on the farm. In estimating the amounts of farm products to be allocated to the members of a farm family, they generally were classified in the same group with heavy workers.

This difficulty was eliminated by an adjustment in prices and a tightening of controls. The system is illustrated by the accompanying table, which shows the prices fixed for the several grains in the various districts.

Table 2. GRAIN DISTRICTS

(prices at the loading stations per 1000 kg. in RM)

Rye		Wheat		Barley		Oats	
District	Price	District	Price	District	Price	District	Price
1	185	1	182	1	152	1	163
2	186	2	183	2	153	2	165
3	187	3	184	3	154	3	167
4	188	4	185	4	155	4	169
5	189	5	186	5	156	5	170
6	190	6	187	6	157	6	171
7	191	7	188	7	159	7	172
8	192	8	189	8	162	8	173
9	193	9	190	9	164	9	174
10	194	10	191	10	166	10	176
11	195	11	192	11	167	11	178
12	196	12	193	12	169	12	179
13	197	13	194	13	170	13	181
14	198	14	196	14	172	14	182
15	199	15	197	-	-	15	183
16	201	16	198	-	-	16	184
17	202	17	200	-	-	17	185
18	203	18	202	-	-	18	186
19	205	19	204	-	-	-	-
20	207	-	-	-	-	-	-

SOURCE: Verkündungsblatt des Reichsnährstandes, 8 June 1943.

NOTE: The figures in the price columns represent the producers prices.

The delivery zones were fixed by the various marketing associations. All dairymen, for example, were required to deliver milk and eggs to the dairies located in their delivery areas. The same system also applied to meat, which had to be shipped from specified centers. These delivery centers also became the agencies for regulating the quality of commodities. This latter function was performed particularly by the dairies, sugar factories, and regional collection centers for garden produce. The zones varied in size and number from product to product; for

example, there were thirteen districts for sugar beet production, but for others as many as thirty-two.

Prices were fixed on a sliding scale which increased from month to month until the maximum was reached at the end of the season. This scheme was designed to encourage the farmer to spread the marketing of his goods over the entire year and to compensate for seasonal variations in output. The following table shows how this scheme was applied to egg production:[1]

Table 3: PRICES OF EGGS

Class	Weight (in grams)	Price in pfennigs 1 Feb. - 15 Nov.	Price in pfennigs 16 Nov.- 31 Jan.
Specials	over 65	13	15
Large	60-65	12½	14½
Middle	55-60	12	14
Ordinary	50-55	11½	13½
Small	45-50	10½	12½

Where chronic shortages in commodities existed, exceptions to the policy were introduced. For instance, potato prices followed an opposite trend; they were higher at the beginning of the season and declined in subsequent weeks. Prices for early potatoes, according to types, declined from 10 to 7 RM per 50 kilograms within a single month.[2]

The marketing associations were concerned with almost every phase of the operations described above. The specific procedures followed by each association varied in sufficient degree to merit independent discussion,[3] but attention will be centered here upon those instances which show the most characteristic or unusual features.

1. Verkündungsblatt des Reichsnährstandes, 1 June 1943.
2. Ibid., 1 July 1943.
3. See III, C,3-4, above, for discussion of the marketing associations.

In the marketing association for grain and fodder, the business division of the association fixed the prices of bread, flour, grain, and other products under its control. It also regulated supplies going to the millers, who had been brought into a single federation. All other dealers were licensed and quotas were allotted to everyone in the trade. Deliveries were made only to those enterprises possessing delivery certificates obtained from the Food Offices. Fodder dealers were required to place their products at the disposal of the grain association for a fixed period before they could dispose of them in the market. Distribution was facilitated by means of the delivery districts described above. As part of the general program, there was some rationalization of the milling facilities in the Reich; mills were closed in some regions, others were opened in regions where sufficient milling facilities did not exist.

Quotas of grain to processors were determined monthly and were fixed by the marketing association on the basis of individual and regional needs. In determining the quotas of bakers, which were fixed according to the number of ration coupons exchanged for delivery certificates, a definite ratio of prepared to raw products was fixed: for example, 100 units of bread weight was equivalent to 75 units of flour. Special arrangements were made for the so-called self-suppliers, who received special milling cards for milling grain and for the domestic manufacture of coffee substitutes.

Dairy and poultry products could be sold, processed, and used only with the permission of the marketing association in this field. All owners of cows were required to deliver their milk to dairies. The only exceptions were dairy farmers located in remote regions. No farmer was permitted to make butter on the farm, but had to procure it from the dairy to

which his milk was delivered. Deliveries of oils and fats to processors were contingent upon the possession of certificates issued by the marketing association to the processors. These authorizations contained the name of the farm from which the products came, and the amount and time of the delivery.

All production and consumption of animals or animal products was under the control of the appropriate marketing association; all distribution was on the basis of certificates. Actual control of livestock delivery was delegated by the regional economic associations to local representatives of the local Peasant Associations, who issued the individual instructions to the farmers as to the number and kind of cattle to be delivered. All animals for consumption had to be sold within a definite period of time and at a specified slaughterhouse or distribution point. Animals were sold on the basis of a fixed price for the various categories, but under a bidding system which guaranteed a minimum price to the seller. Slaughtering could be done only with the permission of the district Peasant Association. Self-suppliers could slaughter only by permission of the authorities and had to use, wherever possible, one of the officially approved slaughterhouses. All fats from slaughtered animals were under the control of the marketing association, which allocated such supplies to places where they were needed.

The central marketing association for sugar products, in turn, had its own series of procedures. Factories manufacturing sugar for consumers could deliver it only against the receipt of certificates and had to make daily reports to the marketing association. Much of the regulation of sugar allotments for processing purposes was, however, done by the manufacturing enterprises. The Economic Association of the German Sugar Economy (Wirtschaftliche Vereinigung der deutschen

Süsswarenwirtschaft) received definite allotments from the marketing association and then distributed the certificates for sugar to the member organizations. The same method of allotting sugar was used by the marketing associations for gardening and brewing. Bee keepers, however, got their sugar from the milk marketing association, while the wine producers received theirs from the marketing association in their own industry. Bakeries obtained sugar by means of sugar certificates issued by Division "A" of the district Food Offices. A baker's application, however, was investigated by the central marketing association for sugar in co-operation with the bakers' guild.

After the outbreak of the war in 1939, sugar was allotted to the food industry on the basis of 1938 quotas. Beet growers and workers in sugar factories were considered self-suppliers and could get sugar by presenting certificates directly to the factories.

The situation in the fishing industry was quite different from that prevailing in the other marketing associations. Before the war, fishermen sold their catch directly to the wholesalers in the coastal towns. They, in turn, sold directly to wholesalers in the interior towns or, in some instances, directly to retailers. After the outbreak of the war, collection centers were set up in the fishing ports and, upon the direction of the marketing association, delivered fish to designated wholesalers in the interior. The consignees, on order of the Food Offices, assigned fish to the retailers. Thus the collection centers in the fishing industry performed the same functions that were fulfilled by the regional economic associations of the other marketing groups.

E. Control of Distribution under the Food Estate

Legally, rationing was not the concern of the Food Estate, but distribution of agricultural products to the consumer was within the administrative purview of Division "B" (rationing) of the Food Offices. Inasmuch as the regional leaders, and in some instances the district Peasant Leaders, were the heads of the regional and district Food Offices, they retained responsibility for the orderly functioning of this division.

The food requirements of the population were determined by Division "B"; it issued ration cards, determined what persons were eligible, and supervised the distribution of food through the appropriate agencies. Once the ration cards had been used by the consumers to purchase food from the retailers, the latter submitted the cards to the Food Offices for delivery certificates on which their quota of supplies from the wholesalers were based. The wholesalers in turn submitted their delivery certificates to the Food Office, and received a certificate which entitled them to deliveries from the distributing centers or other sources of supply. By means of this system, the Food Offices were able to check upon the flow of agricultural products to the consumer. The falsification of ration cards was ascertained by comparing the numbers of cards issued with the numbers of delivery certificates received back in the Food Offices.

F. The Factors of Enforcement

The way in which the Food Estate utilized domestic agricultural resources and sought to assure an equitable distribution of food produced in or imported into Germany was dependent upon several interrelated factors. The first of these factors related to the economic policies of the

Food Estate, especially those which directly affected the financial interests of the farmers.[1] There were also the measures dissolving the trade unions in the agricultural field and restricting the movements of agricultural labor, developments which were favorably viewed by the farmers. Finally, however, there was resort to pressure tactics in order to enforce the requirements of the Food Estate program. How these factors affected the operations of the Food Estate is described briefly below.

1. The Policies of the Food Estate. These policies coincided to a considerable extent with the interests of the farmers, once Germany's most dissatisfied group. In guaranteeing stable farm prices, stable industrial prices, and stable wages, the Food Estate sought to narrow and eliminate the divergence between the price a farmer got for his products and the price he had to pay for goods and services. Even when, during the end of the war, great difficulty in securing prompt and full delivery of agricultural products was encountered, the Food Estate was able to solve the problem by offering various incentives. For example, Backe, in a significant speech delivered at Wels, announced the introduction of a system of delivery premiums for milk, butter, eggs, poultry, and honey.[2] As the quantities of products delivered increased the size of the premiums was proportionately enlarged.

2. The Dissolution of the Unions. The Food Estate, in conjunction with the Labor Front, the Hitler Youth, and the Commissioner General for Labor Supply, was able to remove, or at least to mitigate, the problem which the

1. To some degree also, Nazi propaganda connected with the establishment of the Entailed Farm Legislation, which limited inheritance of farms between 7.5 and 125 hectares, marshalled peasant support behind the Nazi farm program because of the stress it laid upon the peasant elite, i.e., those who held entailed farms.
2. Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft, 1942, No. 22. p. 730.

agricultural labor market constituted for the farmer. Destruction of the agricultural worker's unions, though these had never exerted a force comparable to that of the industrial unions, meant the elimination of at least one of the farmer's grievances.

3. The Control of the Labor Force. The Food Estate dealt with the flight of persons from rural areas (Landflucht) through a series of measures intended either to prevent the emigration of agricultural laborers or compulsorily to transfer unemployed workers or those not employed in vital trades onto the farms.[1] After the establishment of the New Order, the Nazis gave high priority to agriculture in the allocation of foreign laborers.

4. Pressure Tactics. Gradually, however, the program of incentives and of positive benefits was matched by an increase in the use of pressure tactics. Since the interests of the Nazi Party and the peasants were in most respects identical, the application of pressure tactics was, until about 1942, more of a threat than a reality. After that time, however, as the over-all position of the Reich deteriorated and regimentation by the Food Estate caused increasing restiveness, the directors of the Food Estate tended to rely more and more for enforcement on adjuncts of the Party. For example, the Reich Office for the Rural Population, which was responsible for the political reliability of the peasants, came to concern itself increasingly with execution of the food program. To ensure cooperation and compliance, this office made prominent villagers into virtual hostages for their communities by placing them in positions of direct responsibility for production and delivery -- village supervisors of milk production, members of village committees for the supervision

1. For details, see Franz Neumann "Labor Mobilization in the National Socialist New Order," Law and Contemporary Problems, IX, 544-566.

of hog production, etc.

Representatives of other agencies were also utilized to aid in the enforcement of the food program. On the local level, for instance, a village triumvirate (Ortsdreieck) was established in 1944 to overcome the decline in deliveries. This triumvirate, consisting of the local Peasant Leader, the mayor, and the local representative of the Nazi Party, undertook to perform functions actually delegated to the local Peasant Leaders, indicating clearly that the problem of enforcement faced by the Food Estate had grown beyond the power of former functionaries to handle it. And on higher levels, eventually, the Gauleiter came to play an increasingly important role in the affairs of the provincial Peasant Associations. In the last phases of the war, in fact, the name of the Provincial Peasant Leader was often not even on the list of speakers at regional meetings of farmers, a situation previously unknown.

In the field of distribution, wholesalers and retailers lost their independence and became mere transmission agencies, while the processing and distribution firms tended to become integrated into large units. This process of rationalization finds illustration in the type of case brought before the arbitration committees connected with each central marketing association. In three years -- 1935, 1938, 1940 -- most of the fifty cases appealed were protests against the closing of firms or against quota regulations. Other cases involved illegal transactions between wholesalers and retailers which violated the strictly defined delivery areas fixed for each wholesaler.

V. THE COOPERATIVES AND THE FOOD ESTATE

The agricultural cooperatives were among the first of the rural institutions to be placed under Nazi control. Such cooperatives had flourished in Germany since the last half of the nineteenth century, although they never achieved the monopolistic position enjoyed by some of the cooperatives in neighboring Denmark. During the period of the post-war inflation, moreover, the state was forced to intervene in their affairs in order to prevent a complete collapse; as a result a single organization was created including 90 percent of the total number of local farm cooperatives in Germany. This organization was called the Reich Union of German Agricultural Cooperatives (Reichsverband der deutschen landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaftlen-Raiffeisen).[1] The Reichsverband was integrated into Division III of the Food Estate.

In 1943 there were 45,000 local farm cooperatives in Germany. These rural organizations played a very significant role in the controlled economy established by the Nazis. In 1943, for example, about 70 percent of the milk (in valuation) and about 50 percent of all farm products were marketed through the cooperatives. The total valuation of the products handled by the cooperatives in 1941-1942 amounted to 1,450 billions of RM as compared with 760 billions in 1932-1933.[2] General

1. Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen (1818-1888) shared the pioneering honors in the German cooperative movement with Franz Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch (1808-1883) and Friedrich Haas. The type of organization conceived by Raiffeisen was highly centralized and thus lent itself more readily to state direction.
2. Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 20 April 1943.

marketing cooperatives numbered 3,300, commodity marketing cooperatives 1,300, cattle marketing 600, and dairying cooperatives 9,000.[1] Moreover, 20,000 of the cooperatives in the old Reich were engaged in credit activities and by 1943 held deposits of 11.5 billions of RM deposited by 6.3 million members. When the Reichsverband was taken into the Food Estate, about 3,000 credit cooperatives were dissolved or combined.

The Food Estate exploited the cooperative agencies fully. In many instances, the cooperatives took over the functions of private businesses. For example, the cooperatives were required to assume management of bankrupt dairies; and all milk producers, in a region where such assumption of management occurred, were required to support the project by consenting to the deduction of one pfennig for every liter of milk delivered. The sum collected in this way was held in trusteeship by the appropriate economic association and used to purchase the dairy for the cooperative. Partly as a result of this system, the number of cooperative dairies increased from 5,591 in 1933 to 8,978 in 1936.[2]

The cooperative principle was applied also to the delivery stations for the handling of garden produce and fish. In all instances, however, the control was exercised by the marketing associations to which the cooperatives belonged. In this respect, they were converted from corporations of private law into agencies of public law, and the heads of the cooperatives were subject to removal by the leader of the relevant marketing association. The leader could also modify the structure of a member cooperative. In the Law of 30 October 1934,[3] the unlimited

1. Völkischer Beobachter, 6 November 1943.
2. Recht des Reichsnährstand, 1 June 1937, p. 437.
3. Gesetz zur Änderung des Genossenschaftsgesetzes, RGBl., I, 1077.

liability of members to furnish additional financial coverage was abolished.[1] Furthermore, under the Nazis the liquidation of the assets of a cooperative could be completed by means of a compulsory settlement (Zwangsvergleichs) imposed by the authorities.

The agricultural cooperatives in Germany included in the Reichsverband and taken over by the Food Estate comprised the following:

Brandenburgischer Raiffeisenverband.
Landesverband Schlesischer landwirtschafterlicher Genossenschaften.
Danziger Verband der deutschen Raiffeisen Genossenschaften.
Verband landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften in Sachsen.
Verband ländlicher Genossenschaften für Thüringen.
Ländlicher Genossenschaftsverband Rhein-Main-Neckar.
Verband der südmärkischen landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften Raiffeisen.
Verband der landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften der Provinz Sachsen und der Angrenzenden Staaten.
Verband ländlicher Genossenschaften Hannover-Braunschweig.
Verband der Alpenlandeschen landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften Raiffeisen.
Verband landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften in Baden.
Kurhessischer Verband ländlicher Genossenschaften-Raiffeisen.
Verband der Schleswig-holsteinische landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften.
Raiffeisenverband Westmark.
Verband rheinischer landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften Raiffeisen-Verband Ostpreussen.
Verband der saarpfälzischen landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften Raiffeisen.
Bayerischer Landesverband landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften-Raiffeisen.
Verband ländlicher Genossenschaften der Provinz Westfalen.
Verband der ländlicher Genossenschaften Weser-Ems.
Verband deutscher Genossenschaften Wartheland.
Sudetenländischer Raiffeisenverband.
Landesverband Mecklenburgische landwirtschaftlicher und Raiffeisen-genossenschaften.
Verband pommerscher landwirtschaftliche genossenschaften.
Württembergischer Landesverband landwirtschaflicher Genossenschaftten.
Donauländischer Raiffeisenverband.

1. The term Nachschusspflicht applies specifically to cooperatives and has just about the same connotation that unbeschränkte Haftung has for corporations.

Appendix: THE CENTRAL MARKETING ASSOCIATIONS

The following appendix contains a list of the central marketing associations and the related regional economic associations. As has been suggested above, the number of regional groups within each marketing association varies with different commodities controlled by the Associations. For example, the Central Marketing Association for Beer contains only six divisions.

The names of the chairmen and the business managers are given in that order, where they are known.

Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Getreide und Futtermittel-wirtschaft (grain and feed) - Walter Wuttke and Friedrich Ackermann

Wirtschaftverbände

Baden: Karl Geiss and Hans Weisslein
Danzig-Westpreussen: Walter Wegener and Martin Amman
Hessen-Nassau: Otto Raabe and Wilhel Petsch
Kurhessen: Reinhold Rompf and Wilhelm Höhle
Kurmark: Wilhelm Küppe and Heinz Schlemmermeier
Mecklenburg: Karl Sievert and Albert Kammerscheidt
Niedersachsen: Erich Bosse and Gustav Köster
Ostmark: Ludwig Löhr and Oskar Eipeldauer
Ostpreussen: Franz Unterberger and Eberhard Sergeois
Pommern: Gustav Böhlacke and Dr. P. Hillebrand
Rheinland: Gerhardt Jacobs and Dr. Rudolf Scheinert
Sachsen: Bruno Arnhold and Bruno Olberg
Sachsen-Anhalt: Dr. Jurgen Kahmann and Hans Petzold
Schlesien: Gottfried Scholz and Dr. Robert Bütow
Schleswig-Holstein: Georg Osmers and Hans Cosmus
Sudetenland: Franz Nitsch and Franz Walter
Thüringen: Friedrich Diezmann
Wartheland: Fritz Dippel
Weser-Ems: Habbo Wilken and Wilhelm Blumenberg
Westfalen: Ernst Kienker and Fritz Hemken
Westmark: Willi Schneider and Helmut Manthey

Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Viehwirtschaft (livestock)
Chairman Müller

Wirtschaftsverbände

Alpenland: J. Geisler and H. Hoflehner
Baden: E. Rudolph and E. Lücke
Bayern: G. Kaiser and L. Rabel
Danzig-Westpreussen: H. Karsten
Donauland: H. Rainer and Dr. Khek
Hessen-Nassau: F. Schröder and Stockaus
Kurhessen: K. Wagner and Heyden
Kurmark: W. Hübner and Wenderoth
Mecklenburg: L. Klös and Hurth
Niedersachsen: A. Harten and Olshausen
Ostpreussen: A. Ortmann and Dr. Hempel
Pommern: Splittgerber and Freitag
Rheinland: A. Siebers and Ritgen

Sachsen-Anhalt: H. Merbitz and Dr. Vogelsang
Schlesien: F. Ponwitz and von Loeben
Schleswig-Holstein: H. Iversen Lübcker
Sudetenland: J.Watzke and Dr. Lang
Südmark: A. Simon and Dr. Friedlger
Thüringen: K. Koch and Dr. Richmann
Wartheland: Raymann and Dr. Göttl
Weser-Ems: H. Timme and Dr. Weber
Westfalen: W. Kruse and Dr. Deckwitz
Westmark: L. Gerhard and Drescher
Württemberg: H. Hagenbucher and Bosch

Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Milch, Fett und Eierwirtschaft (milk, fat, and eggs) - Richard Diell

Wirtschaftsverbände
Allgau: Bauer Heinrich Höbel. Dr. Max Wittwer
Alpenland: Bauer Josef Landmann, Kurt Träger
Baden: Bauer Friedrich Mayer; Hanns
Bayerische Ostmark: Bauer Ludwig Rosenbeck;-
Bayern: Bauer Eugen Häuser; Dr. Aloes Kiefer
Danzig-Westpreussen:
Donauland: Bauer Dr. Herbert Putz; Dr. Ludwig Zorn
Hessen-Nassau: Bauer Heinrich Desch; Hans Simon
Kurhessen: Bauer Konrad Jakob; Erich Heuer
Kurmark: Bauer Karl Sievers; Dr. Fritz Schaumann
Mecklenburg: Bauer Ludwig Kornfeld, Friedrich Aberschilp
Niedersachsen: Bauer Walter Leonhard; Dr. Ernst Rahn
Ostpreussen: Bauer Karl Gerber; Dr. Kurt Schützler
Pommern: Bauer Hans Boldt; Ernst Aukofer
Rheinland-Westfalen: Landeshauptabteilungsleiter III. Heinrich Kramer; Albert Fricke.
Sachsen: Landeshauptabteilungsleiter Bauer Walter Busch; Gotthardt Lorenz
Sachsen-Anhalt: Bauer Paul Heitzmann; Karl Stang
Schlesien: Bauer Walter Halters; Eberhard Stüve
Schleswig-Holstein: Bauer Hans Beck; Eduard Kneutinger
Sudetenland: Bauer Emil Zeppel; Anton Kühnel
Südmark: Bezirksbauernführer Hans Ebuer; Otto Schneider

Thüringen: Bauer Alfred Heuschkel; Bernhard Willkomm.
Wartheland: Landwirt Willy Kuse. Dr. Ulrich Oldach.
Weser-Ems: Landeshauptabteilungsleiter Adolf Roloff; Diplom-Landwirt Curt Schwerdtfeger.
Westmark: Bauer Julius Scheu; Jakob Mayer.
Württemberg: Landwirt Carl Conzmann; Landwirt Max Huber.

Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Kartoffelwirtschaft (potatoes) - Kurt Hecht.

Wirtschaftsverbände

Baden: Karl Wilhelm Holdermann.
Bayern: Landwirt Richard Gehrig; Wilhelm Endres.
Danzig - Westpreussen: Landwirt Hans Joachim Modrow.
Hessen-Nassau: Landwirt Fritz Müller; Friedrich Rieche.
Kurhessen: Reinhold Rompf; Paul Küthe.
Kurmark: Bauer Franz Schumacher; Erich Kappler.
Mecklenburg: Bauer Paul Beltz; Heinz Holst.
Niedersachsen: Erich Wackenroder; Theo Enbergs.
Ostmark: Dr. Konrad Noe von Nordberg; Franz Trimmel.
Ostpreussen: Arnold Hahn; Dr. Berndt Rohmer.
Pommern: Ernst Schröder; Dr. Hans Seddin.
Rheinland: Theo. Hensen; Dr. Hans Kunz.
Sachsen-Anhalt: Bauer Udo Kögel; Curt Baum.
Sachsen: Erich Seifert; Ernst Riehle.
Schlesien: Güterdirektor Walter Pohl, Dr. Wilhelm Magura.
Schleswig-Holstein: Bauer Fritz Christern; Heinrich Busing.
Sudetenland: Bauer Karl Hoffmann; Fritz Wieden.
Thüringen: Altkreisbauernführer Udo Ludwig.
Wartheland: Landwirt Alfred Thiemann; Friedrich Hacke.
Weser-Ems: Bauer Heinrich Dunkhorst; Hermann Heinemann.
Westfalen: Landwirt Ulrich Ernst; Dr. Arnold Schardey.
Westmark: Landwirt August Handrich; Richard Grunenbaum.
Württemberg: Bauer Friedrich Berger; Friedrich Rückert.

Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Gartenbauwirtschaft (garden produce) - Walter Quast.

Wirtschaftsverbände

Baden: Wilhelm Schroth; August Frick.
Bayern: Robert Menger; Otto Bohn.
Bayerische Ostmark: Heinrich Gottlober.
Danzig-Westpreussen: Max Hentschel; Dr. Waldemar Gesler.
Donau-Alpenland: Rudolf Benesch; Klinkmann.
Hessen - Nassau: Hermann Hoss; Siegfried Schuster.
Kurhessen: Wilhelm Adolf Beckel; Dr. Coster

Kurmark: Erich Herrmann; Werner Faust.
Mecklenburg: Paul Kipke; Dr. Alexander Westphal.
Niedersachsen: Friedrich Helmes; Georg Herman Schellens.
Ostpreussen: Gustav Radschat; Hans Scheidler.
Pommern: Karl Henry; Jacob Brand.
Rheinland: Wilhelm Sieben; Dr. Paul Albermann.
Sachsen-Anhalt: Helmut Götz; Werner Eidt.
Sachsen: Erich Horschke; Richard Knapp.
Schleswig-Holstein; Rudolf Rühmann; Wilhelm Gott.
Sudetenland: Friedrich Hocke; Dr. Ems Lischka.
Südmark: Josef Kaufmann; Walter Knauer.
Thüringen: Oswald Macherauch; Leo Fürst.
Wartheland: Dr. Karl Pfeiffer.
Weser Ems: Elimar Murken; Helmut Seiffert.
Westfalen: Ludwig Müller; Richard Wolff.
Westmark: Peter Croon.
Württemberg: Ernst Siess; Fritz Roth.

Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Weinbauwirtschaft (wine)- Dr. Mackstein.

Wirtschaftsverbände

Baden: Otto Graf; Gustav Fischer.
Bayern: A. Mattern, Assessor Brügel.
Hessen-Nassau: Adam Albert; Dr. Heinrich Fahrnschon.
Kurmark:
Niedersachsen: (including the Peasant Associations of Hannover and Brunswick)
Nord deutschland: (including the Peasant Associations of Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg and Weser-Ems): Walter Kruse.
Ost deutschland: (including the Peasant Associations of Danzig-Westpreussen, Ostpruessen, Pommern and Wartheland): Walter Lenz.
Ostmark: (including the Peasant Associations of Alpenland, Donauland, and Südmark): Baron George von Schweitzer; Hans Rosenthal.
Rheinland: Gustav Alt; Oskar Pang.
Sachsen: Karl Fehrmann; Franz Haegele.
Sachsen-Anhalt: Georg Graf V. Zech.
Schlesien: Hans Bessel.
West deutschland: (including the Peasant Associations of Westphalia and Kurhessen): Heinrich Hammen.
Westmark: Karl Handrich; Nic. Croissant.
Württemberg: Rudolf Gurrath; Robert Endtner.

Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Brauwirtschaft (brewing) - Franz Schwarz.

Wirtschaftsverbände

West deutschland: Director Schuler; Assessor Maier.
Nord deutschland: Brewery owner Härke; Dr. Redeker.
Mittel deutschland: Enno Eckardt Mühlhausen; Alois Dehm.
Ost deutschland: Brewery director Janke, Brewery director Hess,
Ostmark: Baron Bachofen von Echt.
Süddoutschland: Franz Sailer; Dr. Stiegler.

Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Zuckerwirtschaft (sugar) - von Bülow.

Wirtschaftsverbände

Danzig, Westpreussen and Ostpreussen: Riemann; Adolf Busch.
Nordost deutschland: Walter Hildach; Bezirksbauernführer Neuenkirchen.
Schlesien: Landwirt Fritz Käthner; Kurt Harlfinger.
Sachsen-Sud: Dr. Erich Wendenburg, Landwirt Kötzschlitz.
Sachsen Nord: Dr. Werner Bleis; Hans Mette.
Nordwest deutschland: August Narlen, Landwirt; Karl W. Hoenow.
Ostmark: Dr. Johs. Grof Hardegg.
Rheinland: Josef Braschoss, Kreisbauernführer, Conrad Schumacher.
Wartheland: Landwirt Max Loreng; Dr. Paul Wessler.
Aussenstelle Reichenberg: Bauer Fritz Eberl, Factory director Dr. Erich Forth.

Hauptvereinigung der deutschen Fischwirtschaft[1] (fish) - Dr. Buddenböhmer.

Aussenstellen (Branch Offices)

Königsberg: Schmidt.
Stettin: Brüggemann.
Hamburg - Altona: Osmers; Roggo.
Wesermünde: Dr. Erdmann.
Gotenhafen: Stein; Vollmann.

1. The structure of this marketing association was based on branch offices which perform a role similar to that of the economic associations of the other marketing associations.